1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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40 percent following the harvest of the second crop. This system of rent collection continued in Hsin Hsing village until the Land Reform Program. However, villagers say that some landlords in other places collected rents on a 70 percent–30 percent basis, and a few even insisted on the rent being paid in full immediately after the first crop.

The only thing which gave the tenant any security in his tenancy was a good personal relationship or good *kan-ch'ing* with the landlord. This, of course, was only possible if the two lived close enough together to have some sort of contact. Although there certainly were large economic, social, and usually educational differences, so that in extreme cases tenants scarcely dared to approach the house of the landlord except on business, a definite personal relationship often did develop. A landlord generally had a paternalistic feeling toward his tenant, and the tenant in turn felt an obligation to him.

In those earlier days, the tenant always helped the landlord who lived in the immediate area, and especially one who lived in Hsin Hsing, with certain jobs. He was available to assist the landlord to build a house or to help at funerals, weddings, and other ritual occasions. Sometimes the tenant would send a birthday present or a duck or a chicken to the "good landlord in thanks" and in order "to keep good *kan-ch'ing* between them." In case of a death in the landlord's family, the tenant would send a sacrifice to show his respect. But such behavior from tenant to landlord depended strictly on their actual relationship so that not all tenants sent gifts or provided help for their landlords. Some landlords were considered "tight"—a term the villagers often use to refer to a man who is "close-fisted" with money, or to a man who, if he is a landlord, does not concern himself with his tenant or other people if it is going to cost him anything. Such a landlord would not be too likely to receive "favors" from his tenants.

If there was a crop failure, the "good" landlord usually gave the tenant some sort of rent reduction. Although there were in those days no special regulations covering rent reductions in emergencies, the tenant and landlord would discuss the problem if a crop failed because of a typhoon or a water shortage. The tenant might be asked to pay 70 to 80 percent of the normal rent, according to the seriousness of the crop damage. Once one landlord gave a tenant such a rent reduction, it was not uncommon for other landlords to follow suit.

However, there were inflexible landlords who would not reduce the rent under any circumstances. In such cases any good *kan-ch'ing* that had ever existed between landlord and tenant would certainly deteriorate. Then, since tenants had no lease or written contract, the landlord might ask for a higher rent on the land for the next year, which might be a first step toward taking the land away from the tenant entirely and finding a new tenant.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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The birth takes place in the bedroom of the house, usually with little illumination available. Sometimes only one small electric bulb or a kerosene lamp is lit. In labor and during the birth, the woman seems to be relatively quiet, refraining from cries of pain. This may result from the usual stoicism of Chinese women, who are trained to show as little emotion as possible no matter how great the pain. To have other people hear any cries would be embarrassing, and thus cries are avoided. 844 [373]

A woman must not give birth to a child in her natal home. It is believed that such a birth would bring bad luck to her brothers' wives when they give birth and might even result in their being unable to have children. In one case, the married daughter of a Hsin Hsing landlord family did not get on well with her husband's parents. After a number of years of marriage she returned to live in her parents' home while her husband worked in the city and occasionally visited her. When it came time for her to give birth to her third child, she had to leave her brother's home and go to a hospital to have the baby, a most unusual occurrence in the village. She could not give birth in a neighbor's house, of course, since this might damage the birth prospects of the women of that house. 844 842 784 602

After the birth, according to a custom whose reason and origin are now unknown, the umbilical cord and afterbirth are wrapped in a rag and buried in the river bottom. Anything related to the birth, especially if it has been in contact with the woman's blood, is considered unclean.[1] The very room in which the birth takes place is likewise considered unclean, and anyone who enters the room for a month after the birth cannot then attend a wedding, since this would mean bad luck for the bride. 844 [826]

The baby is fed "sugar water" (sugar boiled in water) immediately after birth and until nursing begins. The baby begins to nurse about the end of the second or third day, when lactation begins. 853

After the birth, the new mother eats with the family at the next regular meal, and there is no change in her meal schedule. The food she eats, however, is special, and often consists of fresh fish, chicken, wine, and other such "good and rich foods." These are felt to encourage the production of milk and, more important, to help the mother regain her strength. These foods are usually gifts sent during the first month by the new mother's brothers and sisters. Neighbors and friends may also send such gifts, and the household of the new mother gives them "oil rice" (fried glutinous rice) in return. 846 262 431

It is felt that the new mother should do as little work as possible and rest frequently during the first month after the birth. If she belongs to a joint or stem family, this period of rest is virtually assured. If, however, the family is small, she must depend upon help from *ch'in tsu*, 846 [596] [612]

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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in the same *chia*. But there are also a number of families in the village which customarily give their children a single character for the given name, omitting the first character which normally designates generation. For the most part, they seem to do this simply as a matter of convenience. 553

Customarily, the natal home of the new mother sends gifts for her first born son and daughter. Such items as gold jewelry and clothing are sent at the time the baby is one month old. It is also at this time that the baby is first taken outside, often dressed in all his new finery. 854 431

The infant is usually nursed for two years or more, or until the mother becomes pregnant again. Mother's milk is the main item in the child's diet during this period; it is supplemented after the eighth or ninth month by rice gruel. At about the age of one the child is given additional solid foods. During this period, the baby may be nursed occasionally by an aunt, a *ch'in tsu*, or even a close neighbor if the mother happens to be away or in the fields and unavailable. Generally speaking, it is very common for female members of the same joint family or kinship group, and sometimes even neighbors who are close friends, to take turns caring for each other's children so that one mother at a time can be released for work away from the house. However, in some small families where there are no other women or young girls such as a daughter or younger sister-in-law, the mother has to carry the child slung on her back while she goes about her work. 853 854 596 621 [618] [853]

Weaning does not seem to be a problem, since in most cases children are weaned fairly late. Village mothers report that in the few instances where a child resists being weaned, the mother may finally put red pepper on her nipples to discourage him. However, such action does not seem to be necessary very often. 862

CHILD REARING

Toilet training, like weaning, is not considered a problem by the villagers. It is not emphasized until the child is considered ready for this new stage—that is, until he is physically capable of controlling the sphincter and bladder and able to understand what is expected of him. By the time the child is six-or-seven-months-old, his diaper is replaced by training pants—pants slit open at the crotch. However, toilet training does not begin until the child is almost two-years-old, walking, and beginning to talk and understand what he is told. At this time he is taught to ask to be taken to an inconspicuous spot to perform. Eventually, he will go there by himself. If the child has a lapse, he is slapped on the hand. Village mothers note that toilet training is usually accomplished in about a week after it is begun and that the child usually offers little resistance. 863

A young child is in the care of older siblings during much of the 000

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

enjoying themselves. At times they may also help each other with their field chores. 883

At about the age of twenty, boys who are extremely close may become sworn brothers. This group of six to fifteen village boys may, at times, include some who are *ch'in tsu* and perhaps a few from other villages. But most often, the boys come from the various kinship groups in the village. A small dinner party may be held in the village to commemorate the formation of such a group. There are a number of different groups of sworn brothers in the village, each usually representing a different age group of village men, although sometimes there may be two different sworn brother groups within a single age group.

A sworn brother group has an important function in adult life for its members and their families. When a sworn brother marries or has children, the group is expected to give a gift to mark the occasion. When there is a death in the immediate family of one sworn brother, the others send sacrifice foods and come to the funeral to mourn for the deceased. Sworn brothers may also come to each other's aid in times of need. These groups are rather popular in the area, and the members of such groups may maintain a close relationship for many years. It is not unusual to attend a small *pai-pai* dinner in the home of a middle-aged villager and meet a sworn brother from another village or nearby town. [431] [764]

In general, girls have many more responsibilities in the home than their brothers do, and therefore once in their teens have much less free time for play. The limited freedom they get and the work load which they must assume is intentional training for marriage. If a girl is given too much freedom at home, the villagers say that "she will be unhappy when she later marries and finds she has a strict mother-in-law." At the same time she must learn how to work "so her parents-in-law won't get angry with her. It is also easier to marry her out if she learns to work well, since a boy's family wants a good worker." Thus, in addition to helping with household chores and caring for younger children, girls also do some work in the fields. In their spare time they usually sit in a small group with other girls and women of their own compound or sometimes neighboring houses and make fiber hats which are sold to augment the family income. 883 562 868

However, the daughters of financially secure village families are not given so much responsibility, and their activities are much less restricted. The teenage daughter in such a household may do very little household or fieldwork, especially if there is an older sister-in-law in the house. These girls may, of course, continue their education in middle school or attend a private sewing school. Such was the case with the young daughters of two village families. One of these girls, a good student, was sent to the Lukang Community Middle School. The 554 562 883 874 [873]

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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The night before the wedding day, starting at midnight, a *pai-pai* is held at the boy's home. A Taoist priest (*tao shih*) officiates at the ceremony, held in honor of T'ien Kung to thank him for guarding the boy so that he could reach marriageable age, and prayers are said for the future of the boy and his family. At the same time, many lesser gods are invited to the *pai-pai* to be worshipped, and statues of these gods (which may belong to other villagers) are brought to the ancestral-worship room of the boy's home. The village orchestra performs during most of this ceremonial to entertain T'ien Kung. Many expensive foods, including at least one whole dressed pig and goat, bottles of wine, and a good deal of paper money are offered in honor of the gods and their soldiers and horses. (A description of the Taoist pantheon is found in Chapter 8.)

The *tao shih* invites the gods to partake of the sacrifices and transmits to them the prayers of the family. In the course of the ritual the *tao shih* and the participating members of the family, including the groom and his father and brothers, simulate trips to heaven and to the underworld to communicate with the gods. A shaman, known as *t'iao t'ung* (his broader functions are also described in detail in Chapter 8), accompanies them on these "trips." He is possessed by a local, less powerful, and important god known as an ambassador god and thus acts as the intermediary between the family and the higher gods. "After all," queried a villager on this point, "can a common man go directly on his own to see and talk with an emperor?"

Much of the food offered at the *pai-pai* is sent the next day as gifts to the girl's family; during the next several days it is fed to the guests who attend the wedding festival as well as the many people, usually *ch'in tsu* or fellow villagers, who help in the preparations and entertainment of the guests at the girl's village. The cost to both sets of parents is very great, and the poorest families save for a long time or borrow money in order to have a proper wedding festival.

While the boy's family is holding the *pai-pai* on the night before the marriage, the girl's family is busy with preparations for the next day. When the marriage broker, accompanied by the carriers bearing more gifts, and the village orchestra arrive, they are fed in the girl's village. Then, they help the girl's family load the many carts with her dowry and the sweet cakes which accompany the bride when she goes to the groom's village in her sedan chair.

The vehicles which carry the gifts to the bride's family and take the dowry back to the groom's village are either rented wheeled carts drawn by men hired in Lukang or trays carried on poles by the groom's *ch'in tsu* and/or fellow villagers. Only a wealthy family can afford to use the many hand-carried trays, since all the carriers must be fed banquet food and those who carry heavy items are given *hung pao* (money wrapped in a red paper packet). Far fewer wheeled carts are

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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585 ing toasts from all the guests. The bride returns to her room, where she
574 often receives guests who wish to meet her. She serves them "bride's
[431] tea," for which the guests give her a small red packet of "bride's
[272] money." (This is considered to be her own to do with as she pleases.) The bride's tea is sweetened, and the sugar in it represents everyone's wish for her: "Sweet, sweet, have a baby boy."

685 Since there is no religious or civil ceremony to mark the occasion, it is difficult to say exactly when the couple is considered to be definitively married. Villagers themselves disagree on the point. Some feel that the couple is married once the engagement and marriage arrangements have been made. Others say that the marriage occurs when the couple is presented at the marriage festival. Still others feel that there is no marriage until it has been consummated, and some even say that the couple is not formally married until the union is registered at the Public Office. While no single answer was agreed upon, several villagers pointed out that the marriage begins once the engagement is agreed upon, "since at this time the two families are tied together as *ch'in ch'i*, and this, after all, is one of the most important factors in any marriage."

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581 Taiwanese marriage has a broader social function than marriage in
19 contemporary Western culture. It establishes *ch'in ch'i* relationships
[612] between families, it brings a new member into a boy's family, and it joins two people who then produce children. A Chinese marriage, then, does not take place as a result of a single religious or civil ceremony. Instead, a series of events, beginning with the engagement agreement and culminating in the sexual union and production of children, mark the establishment of the married state.

585 On the day after the bride arrives at her husband's village, a good-
[777] luck lady introduces her to relatives and neighbors and tells her how each person should be addressed. Some people call on the family to be introduced to the bride. The girl is also taken to the other side of the village to meet any *ch'in tsu* who may live there. Later on this second day, the couple returns to the girl's natal home to attend a banquet very similar to the one held at the husband's home the day before. When she returns to her family on this occasion she is frequently all smiles, in sharp contrast to her tearful departure. The cheerful aspect, like the previous day's public woe, is probably conventional, a demonstration that she is happy in her good fortune at having made such an excellent match. But it is perhaps also due to the fact that she has been to her new home, gone through her first night of marriage, and now feels that the worst is over.

[484] The couple either travel together, in a taxi, to the girl's village or
494 separately, the bride in a sedan chair, the groom by bicycle. Usually,
[493] several of the groom's male friends and relatives accompany him.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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While the girl spends most of the evening in the kitchen or back rooms of the house with her female relatives, the boy and his companions are formally entertained by the bride's father and other male relatives at the banquet. Most of the banquet guests are *ch'in ch'i* and friends of the girl's family, and the men who serve the food and entertain the guests are *ch'in tsu*, close friends, and neighbors.

Before many hours have passed the bride, the groom, and his companions take leave of their hosts. Since this is their first formal visit, it is important "to eat little and leave early" to show their politeness, although the party continues after they have left.

The guests who are formally invited to this banquet and to the wedding festival in the groom's home are those who have sent a gift. The form of the gift usually depends upon the relationship the guest has with the family. Close *ch'in tsu* or *ch'in ch'i* commonly send lengths of cloth with several hundred NT dollars and messages of good wishes pasted on them which are displayed on the walls. Other guests may simply send money wrapped in a red paper packet. Regardless of the kind of gift or who it comes from, the receiving family informally records the name of the donor and the amount of the gift. This is done so that later, on a similar occasion, an approximately equivalent gift can be returned.

On the third day after the wedding the new daughter-in-law begins to work in her husband's house. From the outset she is carefully supervised by her mother-in-law and usually does much of the cooking, washing, and general housecleaning. "If the daughter-in-law is good, she will listen to and obey all the family, including her sisters-in-law and even her husband's younger sisters." This is the best way for her to demonstrate that she is anxious to learn the ways of her new home and please her new family.

A girl's parents cannot visit their daughter in her new home for the first four months after she is married. While the girl can pay them brief visits during this period, such visits are dependent upon the economic condition of her husband's family and the number of people who can perform the necessary household tasks in her place. If she were to leave her household duties undone she could easily anger her mother-in-law. To avoid such a contingency, many newly married girls rarely see their parents during the early months of marriage. However, if a girl marries within her home village, she may easily be tempted to visit her parents frequently, and perhaps even to continue to do some of her old tasks for her mother—all at the expense of the work she now owes her husband's family. Such a situation can provoke the mother-in-law to treat the girl harshly and may eventually lead to bad feeling between the two families, since they live in close proximity and therefore know everything that goes on in the other's house.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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764 [264] who act as cooks for the occasion. The meal is elaborate and consists of many of the same meats, soups, and other dishes normally served at a festival dinner.

Burial

[787] During the course of the next day the actual burial takes place in the public cemetery at a time and place determined by a geomancer or *k'an feng shui te jen*. A number of tables are set up in the courtyard of the house beforehand, with many baskets of food prepared as sacrifices to the spirit of the dead displayed on them. These baskets of food, as well as lengths of dark colored cloth covered with written messages of condolence and money, have been sent by relatives and friends. The [431] money and cloth are sent to the family almost immediately after the death. The baskets of food and wine are sent the day the burial takes place.

Once the sacrifices and incense have been set up on the tables, the coffin is carried out of the house and placed at the head of the tables. [481] Many male mourners, including sworn brothers of members of the bereaved family, *ch'in ch'i*, friends, and neighbors—or representatives from the families of these people—then "worship" the spirit of the deceased, each performing an elaborate sacrificial rite on his hands [602] and knees. One of the "heaviest mourners" (those with the closest patrilineal ties to the dead man) accompanies each one in the ritual in order to thank him. Throughout the worshipping the women relatives, especially the daughters of the deceased, lean against the closed coffin and wail aloud.[5]

While this ritual takes place outside the house, a small group of village men goes to the cemetery to dig the grave. When it is time for the burial, the coffin is carried on the shoulders of several men to the cemetery, followed by the mourners. Usually, only the heaviest mourners and close friends accompany the coffin the whole distance (about two miles) to the cemetery. However, many others who attended the funeral come out to the road to send off the coffin and mourners. While still on the road near the village, the closest lineal [602] relatives of the deceased suddenly turn to these others and crawl on [481] their hands and knees toward them. This is done as a form of obeisance, to thank them for their participation and to beg them not to bother to go to the cemetery. Then the mourners are helped to their feet by friends and more distant relatives such as *ch'in ch'i* and run to catch up with the coffin and the other mourners.

764 79 756 At the cemetery an elaborate ceremonial is conducted by a man who is often a combination geomancer and shaman (*fa shih*). In his capacity as geomancer, he is present to see that the coffin is placed in the proper position, and as shaman he is expected to invite the gods to the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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ceremony and, especially, to obtain the god of the earth's permission to break the earth and to ask him to accept the body. Once the burial is completed, all return to the village where an elaborate dinner is held for all those who participated in any stage of the funeral.

Several weeks after the burial, on a date set by a geomancer, the members of the mourning family reconvene at the cemetery to dedicate the tombstone. They again wear white mourning clothes, and a ritual is conducted by the same geomancer-shaman.

Mourning

After a death, the descendants usually observe heavy mourning for forty-nine days (seven weeks). During this period they worship the spirit of the deceased twice each day, at sunrise and sunset, coming together to wail and chant as they did on the day of the funeral.

On the hundredth day after the death, or sometimes after one year, another mourning ritual is held. On this day it is common to burn the temporary paper ancestral tablet and transfer the dead person's name and death day to the family's permanent wooden ancestral tablet. Until very recently, the name was placed on a small permanent wooden tablet instead of on the temporary paper one, which made it unnecessary to transfer the name to the main family tablet. It is also on the hundredth day that the mourning family sends sweet cakes to everyone who sent money or gifts at the time of the death. The sweet cakes are a symbolic message "that things are now better."

For three years after the death, patrilineal descendants of the deceased are supposed to wear the lengths of colored yarn to show they are mourning. At the end of this period, they usually wear red yarn for a few days just to show that things are now good again. Actually, in the village the colored mourning yarn is most frequently worn for only a year. It is also customary during this three-year mourning period for the women to wail at the grave when the family goes to the cemetery each Ch'ing Ming Chieh (a holiday early in April) to clean the graves and offer sacrifices.

If in the years following a death the family has not been able to produce a boy child or has been in financial difficulties or poor health, they may have the grave dug up and the coffin moved to a new and more propitious spot determined by a geomancer. This takes place at least three years, but usually more than ten years, after the death. Specialists from Lukang or from some other village are hired for such an occasion. These men, in the presence of the closest relatives of the deceased, pick out each bone, clean it, and attach it in a special order to a short charcoal pole which is placed in a tall ceramic pot. The pot is then reburied in the new grave and a new tombstone, engraved with the date of reburial, is set up.

*562 that a family achieves its most important goal, the perpetuation of its
842 line. Female children, on the other hand, are "something to lose money
on" because the money invested in raising a female child is lost when
she marries. Her children become heirs and descendants of her husband's
family, and her labor and skills a contribution to the welfare of her
husband and his relatives. Whereas a son will remain with his parents
and support them in their old age, the most that can be expected of a
daughter is that she will mourn her parents when they die. As a result,
most villagers feel that it is imperative to have male children and see
little point in raising their female children. As one of our more out-
spoken informants put it, "There is no point in having daughters if you
have sons. Daughters are just things you waste money on. You feed them
and take care of them when they are small, and then when they are old
enough to help you they marry and belong to someone else."

*583 The family which chooses to raise their female children does, of
course, receive a bride price when they marry, "to thank them for raising
the girl." While this is often a considerable sum of money, it does
not really compensate a family for the expenses incurred in the girl's
upbringing. The bride price is usually barely adequate to cover the
expenses of the girl's engagement and marriage, and often a family finds
that the marriage of a daughter actually costs them money. A marriage
in a family invariably involves a number of dinners and teas, and when
these are held in the bride's home they are the responsibility of her
• [431] family. The family must also provide themselves with new clothes to
attend the various festivities, and when they visit the groom's home they

A 583 .431 are expected to bring small gifts of fruit or perhaps tea. The major expense, however, is the dowry. At the very minimum a respectable dowry must include a complete wardrobe for the bride; a suit, hat, shoes, and shirt and tie for the groom; a bed, chairs, a wardrobe and other furnishings for the couple's bedroom; quilts and other bedding for the bridal couch; several yards of three or four woolen and cotton materials; a pair of candleholders and perhaps other decorations for the groom's family altar; such kitchen utensils as the bride will need for her personal use; a respectable supply of canned goods, tea, and other luxury foodstuffs; several rings, a necklace, and other jewelry for the bride's personal adornment; and at least a thousand dollars in cash. As the bride's relatives are often heard to comment on the occasion of a wedding, "A daughter's getting married is like a thief's getting into the house."

+ 583 554 On occasion, a very poor family will demand a large bride price and send only a small dowry in return, thereby managing to recoup some of the costs of raising the girl. This does not occur often, however, and for very good reasons. For one thing, the family which sends a daughter in marriage without a respectable dowry places her in a difficult position in her husband's home. The husband's family expects a dowry of approximately the same worth as the bride price, and if they are disappointed in this expectation the bride will find her parents-in-law "waiting with angry faces." For another, the family which sends a daughter without an adequate dowry risks the loss of their own face. Custom demands that a dowry be delivered to the groom's home on open

*583 preferred form of marriage are prohibitive. Whereas it costs no more
*584 than a token price of several hundred dollars to adopt a sim-pûn,
435 it may cost a family the equivalent of a year's income to obtain a bride in the preferred way. In the first place, there is the bride price, the amount of which varies but which averages around NT$8000. Secondly, there is the cost of the marriage cakes which must be sent to the girl's family for distribution to their friends and relatives. The average cost of these is somewhere between NT$3000 and NT$4000, although some families may have to expend as much as NT$6000 or even
[301] NT$7000. Thirdly, there is the expense of the jewelry which must be presented to the birde on the occasion of the engagement, the minimum requirement being a gold ring, gold earrings, and a gold bracelet. Even when a family buys the lightest jewelry they can find, the cost is somewhere between NT$3000 and NT$4000. Most burdensome of all,
[585] there is the expense of the various feasts associated with the wedding,
[584] all of which are the responsibility of the groom's family. At the very least these cost a family NT$7000 or NT$8000, and a family which "cares about face" may spend as much as NT$12,000 to NT$15,000. Beyond these major expenditures, they are also innumerable smaller items.
[585] It may be necessary for a family to enlarge its house or at least refurnish a room; a gift of NT$800 to NT$1000 must be made to the go-between for "bringing happiness;" taxis have to be hired for the groom's relatives to fetch the bride on the day of the wedding: and there are always sundry functionaries who must be given "red packets" to thank
*583 them for some service or favor. Fortunately for the beleaguered family
585 which undertakes such a marriage, these expenses are to some extent
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offset by gifts received from friends and relatives at the time of the wedding. Depending upon their degree of relationship, relatives usually give between NT$40 and NT$80, except for the groom's mother's brother who must give at least NT$500; and friends and neighbors usually give NT$20 to NT$50, although good friends may give considerably more. But while these gifts are a welcome boon, they do not even meet the cost of the wedding feast which is approximately NT$80 per guest. Given then that the average family's gross income is somewhere between NT$15,000 and NT$20,000 one can understand why it is that many families are reluctant to undertake a preferred marriage for even one son, let alone two or three. The cost of even one such marriage may put a family into debt for years.

There are, of course, various ways in which a family can economize on the preferred form of marriage. They can bargain over the bride price until it is reduced to the bare minimum; they can buy the lightest and least expensive jewelry available; the wedding feasts can be limited to the family's closest relatives; and such common elaborations as a band and taxicabs can be eliminated. The point is that if a family has to economize so drastically it is better for them to adopt a sim-puà than to even attempt the preferred marriage. For the same reason that a family can gain face by marrying a son in the preferred way, they can lose face by carrying out such a marriage in a manner that does not satisfy people's expectations. A sim-puà marriage does not enhance one's social position, but neither does it involve the risk of losing such prestige as the family may enjoy.

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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*159 *596 183 578 According to their relatives and neighbors, the Lim family could solve all their troubles by simply dividing their property and becoming separate independent family units. The large, extended family living together under one roof and contributing their incomes to a common purse is accepted by all Taiwanese as an ideal toward which every family should strive, but few have been able to maintain this form of family for any period of time. The fact that the Lims have done so makes them uneasy and watchful. Lim A-pou, with her devotion to the old traditions, has until recently been quite proud of this further accomplishment of her family, but as my stay in the village lengthened, it was obvious that she now wished a division of the family, no matter what it cost her principles and pride. Her growing dissatisfaction with Lim Chieng-cua's management of the family is not entirely emotional. She remembers poverty more vividly than the younger members of the family and in her mind it is intimately connected with tenant farming. Land, for her, is the only stable unit in an economy that changes as often and as disastrously as Taiwan's. When she sees income from the land going to pay factory workers, she imagines a day when pieces of land may be sold to enlarge the factory or pay its debts. Recent years seem less prosperous than past years. Better that the property be divided now, while it is still in the form of land, than later, when it may be an intangible piece of the factory. Lim A-pou does not understand nor trust the world in which her foster brother operates.

*159 *596 578 604 607 In her quiet campaign for division A-pou first made sure that she had the sympathy of her neighbors, for the opinions of neighbors have no small influence on arbiters in the settlement of family differences. Then, she began to urge her eldest son to be less compliant in his dealings with his uncle.

*431 [626] How successful she is in exacerbating the tensions already existing between uncle and nephew can be seen in a quarrel I had no choice but to witness. Lim A-bok walked into the dining room, grumbling to himself as he read a letter. "This man! He should be embarrassed to write a letter begging me for cucumbers. If he scorns people so much, why should I pay any attention to him."

Lim Chieng-cua looked up and asked, "What letter is that? Who is it from?" A-bok handed him the letter which he quickly read. "What's wrong with this? What's the matter?"

Lim A-pou came in carrying some buckets and said, "We never let him feed us three meals. How can he do this?"

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Lim Chieng-cua, looking confused and a little irritated since the letter was from one of his business associates, demanded, "What do you mean you never let him feed you three meals? Why do you say that? What's the trouble?"

Lim A-pou shrugged and said, "I don't know anything about it. Ask my son."

Lim Chieng-cua gave his nephew a questioning look. A-bok answered it unwillingly. "The last time I went to Lungyen to a festival [to represent the family] I missed the last bus. Even though I was in his house, he didn't say a word, so I had to walk all of the way home [a distance of several miles]."

Lim Chieng-cua, impatient and rather disgusted, answered, "Is that all? Did it ever occur to you how he felt at that time? His house was full of guests and his mind full of obligations. Why didn't you just explain the problem to him? I'm sure he would have asked you to spend the night."

A-bok snorted, "Huh! Explain! He is so suspicious of people that he thought I'd steal all his possessions if I stayed there one night. Have I ever neglected to treat him well when he comes here? This kind of person we can ignore."

Lim Chieng-cua, clearly trying to be patient, explained. "Now how can you ignore him? It is in these little things that you make errors. I am the one that has to be in contact with him all the time and do business with him. You have to think of my relations, too. I am the one that bears our family's responsibility to him. The cucumbers are unimportant things. Obviously, he has the money to buy them anywhere. The letter is just a joke and a way of complimenting us on the quality of our cucumbers. He is not so poor that he has to write a letter begging cucumbers from us."

A-bok said nothing more, but as he followed his mother out of the room, his face was sullen and unconvinced.

That evening when we were sitting in the kitchen, the subject of the letter came up again. Lim Chieng-cua said, "Look at it this way. You have given people presents and people sometimes give you presents, too."

Lim A-pou, immediately on the defensive, interrupted him. "We only gave Ong A-giok cucumbers because she often helps us in the fields. We never give them to anyone else."

Lim Chieng-cua answered patiently, "I'm not suggesting that you shouldn't give things to people. You can give things to your

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friends, and I can give things to mine. Didn't this man ever give things to us? He nearly always brings us a big bag of taste powder when he comes. I didn't ever hear him say it was only for me, did you? A person who wants to run a business outside can't be like this.

"Think about it this way for a minute. Suppose this person really had been very bad to you. And now here he is asking you for something, not you asking him. It is he who would be bringing shame on himself by asking, not on you. You can bring shame on yourself only by not giving it to him.

"You say he would not invite you to stay in his house for one night, but did you explain to him what the situation amounted to? No, you just said you had missed your bus. How was he to know it was the last bus or that there was no late train? He is my friend. If your friend came and asked for something and I wouldn't let you give it to him, how would you feel?"

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A-bok had had all the lecturing on proper behavior that he could take for one evening, and he said rather loudly, "All right. All right. Don't just stand there and oppress me about it all night."

This bit of disrespect caused Lim Chieng-cua to drop the tight rein he had been holding on his infamous temper. He yelled at A-bok, "You accuse me of oppressing you! You are the one who is doing the oppressing. Haven't I explained anything to you?"

Evidently the expression on A-bok's face (which I couldn't see) angered Lim Chieng-cua even more, and he moved as if to strike him. A-bok jumped up and ran out of the room. A good friend of the family who had been sitting with us immediately pulled on Lim Chieng-cua's arm and began talking to him in a soothing manner. "All right. All right. This is just a little thing. There is no good in it for anyone in quarreling over it."

Lim Chieng-cua calmed down a little and the friend continued to talk to him softly and unemotionally—a trick this man has that makes him much called upon in the village to settle family disputes. "Don't argue with the boy anymore. He is young yet and still doesn't understand the 'affairs of the world.' You are of an older generation and must not lose dignity by arguing with him. If he cannot understand, just forget it for now."

After a bit, the friend in his role as peace-maker went in to talk to Lim A-bok and his mother. A-pou was scolding her son. "If he wants to hit you, just let him hit you. Why do you run? Let the others see how he treats us."

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625 night stick, and piece of pepe. The patrol for Talei Li usually consists of five men nightly; two men patrol the first half of the night and two others, the last while one man is on duty as a spare in case someone gets sick. He also prepares tea and noodles for snacks. Although only adult males are regular members of the I Ching, the patrol is considered part of each household's responsibility. Therefore, the fifth or spare man is often not a regular member and indeed, may often be a girl representing a household which has no adult males within the appropriate age group. A girl never patrols but she does [562] fix the tea and noodles. In this manner, a girl is seen as almost the equivalent of a male, for although she does not patrol, her activities (all night rather than half the night) mean her household has made a contribution equal to that of one furnishing a man.

[36] [49] Control of crimes is easy to maintain because there is only one road leading through the li towards town and escape over the mountains would be extremely difficult.

625 • 431 626 Clothes and equipment for the I Ching are purchased from funds contributed by business men and wealthier land owners in the area. Although donations are supposedly voluntary, community pressure is placed on anyone who does not willingly donate his share, i.e., there is a veiled threat that no watch will be kept on property owned by uncooperative men. Each night of work, each

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796 the preparations start several days before New Year's Day and extend several days beyond encompassing many parties
• [831] and celebrations. Gifts are received f[illegible]ployers and gifts are provided to all regular vendors with whom an in-
[574] dividual does business. There is a considerable amount of visiting with friends and relatives in the village and in the surrounding area as far as Taipei. Inscriptions are placed on the doors and New Year's evening itself is enlivened by firecrackers all night long. Virtually 100% of villagers participate in the various celebrations.

The New Year Season closes with the celebration of Shang-yuan (Lantern Festival) on the first month, fifteenth day. In addition to the elaborate food, worship, and firecrackers there is parading in the evening while carrying colorful lanterns which have candles inside. This affair
[787] is most popular with children. Villagers believe that a single girl may learn something about her future husband and whether she will get married during the current year by interpreting the first thing she hears after setting out on the
[777] parade with a lantern. Children are able to obtain good luck for an entire year by stealing vegetables growing in the fields without getting caught. Village adults rush about and loudly complain about thieves but are careful not to catch any children stealing. Most village families participate in Shang-yuan; the only exceptions are households without children.

known and unknown ones as well as ancestors in general and any ghosts who happen to be wandering around. There is a common Chinese belief that any unworshipped souls may cause much mischief. In Talei Li, it is felt that there are more hungry ghosts today than ever in history because of the many Mainland soldiers who are now slowly dying off without leaving descendants to carry on their worship. Once again, food sacrifices are very important with pork and fruit featured in particular. Some food is left out over night on the street so that any passing ghost may serve himself.

The Moon Festival or Mid-Autumn Festival falls on the fifteenth day of the eighth month as does the birthday of T'u Ti Kung (the Earth God). As part of the worship affairs in the afternoon before dinner, about sixty per cent of village households offer sacrifices at the small Earth God Temple at the edge of the village. There are also special sacrifices to Tai-yin (Goddess of the Moon) and the majority of the villagers stay up late at night to observe the moon for legend claims that the moon is more beautiful this night than during any other time of the year. Special yueh ping (moon cakes) are sacrificed and given to friends and relatives as gifts. The Moon Festival is a yin event (the female end of the yin-yang dichotomy previously discussed) and therefore, features special activities by women in order that they may conceive, obtain a husband, or receive long life. In Talei Li, gifts are also sent on this day to the li school teachers.